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EASTERN EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCER

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FRG Initiative on Oder-Neisse Reportedly Imminent

Bonn's Foreign Office Polish Desk officer Arz told US officials on 6 February that, barring any last minute changes in tactics, Chancellor Kiesinger intends to ask De Gaulle to tell the Poles that the FRG is prepared to "sit down" and "discuss" the Oder-Neisse question with them whenever they like.

Arz said that the FRG position that a final border settlement can only come in a peace treaty does not preclude joint steps toward solutions of outstanding questions before such a treaty is signed. He thought the FRG might be prepared to make a declaration committing itself on the Oder-Neisse question at any such future conference, if this would clearly lead to a resumption of Polish-FRG relations.

Arz was skeptical whether the Soviets, in view of the predictably sharp GDR opposition, would agree to Warsaw's entering into such talks, and believed that the initiatives would, therefore, only mark the beginning of a lengthy softening-up process.

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COMMENT: The question of the Oder-Neisse boundary is at the core of Polish foreign policy, and has had a direct bearing on the year-long Polish-East German-Soviet efforts to forge a common Eastern European response to the FRG's eastern policy. Whatever the Polish response to the FRG initiative on this question, therefore, the Bonn move would at minimum have a divisive impact on the Eastern European regimes.

Although there have been several unconfirmed reports recently that the Polish position on Germany has "softened" as a result of Soviet urgings and because of the resumption of FRG-Yugoslav relations, the initial Polish reaction to the proposed FRG Oder-Neisse initiative will be negative. (see following item) At the very least, the Gomulka regime will claim that the FRG has no competence to open talks about frontiers between two other sovereign states, one of which, the GDR, it fails to recognize. Expected East German pressure against Warsaw's responsiveness to the initiative will probably tend to strain Polish-East German relations. Despite Warsaw's outward rigid position in support of its GDR ally, there is evidence that the Poles have never put all their eggs in the East German basket.

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The proposed FRG initiative will also have a further divisive impact on the Polish party, where factional infighting is again at a high point. Criticism of the leadership's rigid German policy is one of the main issues already contributing to this turmoil.

### Polish Reaction to FRG-Yugoslav Diplomatic Tie

The renewal of FRG-Yugoslav diplomatic relations was front-paged by the main party daily, Trybuna Ludu, on 1 February. The report, however, singled out those passages from the Yugoslav announcement which stressed the original reasons for Bonn's breaking relations in 1957, and which stated that Yugoslavia will maintain and develop relations with East Germany.

Warsaw's non-party daily Zycie Warszawy on 2 February made more twists and turns. Arguing at first that the FRG-Yugoslav move was only "formal," the paper then hailed it as a major step toward Bonn's recognition of the existence of two German states. The commentary asserted that the move was, nevertheless, only a "tactical correction" to the main "anti-peace current" of Bonn's policy, but admitted that the FRG had created a "change of climate." It concluded, however, that no such change "can replace the necessity of FRG acceptance of basic conditions for the normalization of relations with Poland, namely recognition of the border, recognition of the GDR, and renunciation of nuclear arms." 25X1

COMMENT: These twists are perhaps the best indication that the Poles have not yet decided what line to take. A Trybuna Ludu editor told US Embassy officers recently that the FRG-Yugoslav move was far more important than the establishment of Rumanian-West German relations last year, and that it would "help unfreeze the Polish position." Notably, when party boss Gomulka obliquely criticized the Rumanian move last year, he gratuitously added that had Bonn's overtures been directed at Belgrade instead of Bucharest, it would have been considerably more important in terms of West German-Eastern European relations.

### Hungarian Reaction to Bonn-Belgrade Recognition is Noncommittal

Hungary's public reaction to the recent resumption of relations between the FRG and Yugoslavia has, so far, been limited to summarizing other Eastern European press reactions and has avoided any original commentary. The Embassy does not

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think that the Yugoslav example "will significantly speed agreement to a similar move by the Hungarian government."

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COMMENT: The Hungarians are probably waiting for some firm indications of Soviet thinking on the Bonn-Belgrade agreement.

### Gromyko's Bulgarian Visit Cancelled

A Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA) item of 6 February which announced Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's February visit to Bulgaria was abruptly cancelled five hours later by BTA.

COMMENT: Gromyko has not been in Bulgaria since May 1962 when he was part of a party-government delegation. Perhaps a visit was considered at this time to coordinate Sofia and Moscow's positions on the renewal of the Friendship treaties with Rumania, the upcoming Budapest consultative meeting, and relations with Cuba following the cancellation of Zhivkov's visit to Havana. The confusion surrounding the announcement of Gromyko's visit and its cancellation suggest that coordination between the two capitals needs improving.

### Bulgaria Protests Criminal Cases

Bulgaria has made low-key protests in Sofia and Washington about the theft of its Embassy nameplate, the robbery and threatened rape of the wife of the Bulgarian assistant military attache and other alleged violations of diplomatic immunity. The latest incident occurred on 2 February when the Bulgarian chauffeur attached to the Bulgarian trade mission in New York was handcuffed and searched by New York's finest as a possible burglary suspect. The chauffeur, who was in his cups, was not held more than five minutes, but the Bulgarians are incensed because his car, with diplomatic plates, was also searched. The police deny touching the car and the US had expressed its regrets over all the incidents.

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